

PEACE NEWS

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2d.

THE ROAD BACK

THE donation of £5 mentioned last week has been followed by others with the message: "To prevent the Editor from being disappointed" with the response to our Fighting Fund appeal. They have served that excellent purpose handsomely! Indeed, they have not only justified my belief that we were on the way back to the old level of £50 a week, but have nearly reached it, the actual sum being £45 11s. 2d. This makes the total £1,355 19s. 6d.

Thank you very much! Now to top the £50 mark — and keep us there.

The Editor

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Making the World Safe—For What?

MR. EDEN has officially announced that the British Government has no intention of trying to change the forms of government of the nations of Europe. This disclaimer, which we regard as sensible and politic, raises the question: What, in the event of a British victory, are we going to do about the political system of Germany?

Probably, the Government, if it has any time at all to think about that question, gives it up in despair. Anyhow, "first catch your hare." But there is a problem. Whereas, in the last war, we had a simple solution; namely, to establish a political democracy in Germany, no such solution is conceivable today. No European people (it is probably safe to say) outside the Scandinavian nations has any belief or hope in political democracy. Europe appears to have entered on a period of authoritarian governments. And the courageous resistance of Greece, in great danger and against great odds, under the military dictatorship of the late General Metaxas, suggests that authoritarian government is perfectly compatible with an absence of popular discontent.

After all, nobody with a tolerable knowledge of history would have doubted it. Faith in democracy as a universal panacea is a very modern growth: it is certainly not a hundred years old. Faith in democracy based on universal suffrage is positively a thing of yesterday. As far as Britain herself is concerned, it was an experiment made at the end of the last war; France never adopted it at all—Frenchwomen have never had the vote. In Spain it existed for three or four troubled years; in Germany for ten.

Dean Inge once remarked upon the results of the simple intelligence test applied to the recruits to the US army during the last war. The tests were applied to nearly 2 million officers and men intended for service in Europe; and it was discovered that no less than 47 per cent. were below the mental age of 13. 22 per cent. were even below the mental age of 9. "America, then," grimly concluded the Dean, "the classical land of democracy, is governed by voters about half of whom are, in intelligence, children of less than 13 years old. No-one would seriously claim that conditions are better in Britain."

With such a low level of intelligence in the electorate of a democracy, it is inconceivable that the novel and complex problems of modern society should be wisely handled by its chosen representatives. A hand-to-mouth confusion in domestic and foreign policy is the necessary consequence—a confusion of which the present war is the consummation. This confusion.

(Continued on back page)

Conscripting Christianity

THE Archbishop of York has taken up the question of preachers who are pacifists, and has written to inform the Chairman of the BBC of the terms of a resolution which may be regarded as expressing the views of the Convocation of York and is endorsed by 12 of the 14 Bishops of the Northern Province.

The announcement of this in The Times raised a new hope. The Archbishop had previously made it clear that though he was not a pacifist he respected the conscience of those who were, and that he regarded pacifism as a "vocation" to which some were specially called. He has spoken out strongly against the victimisation of COs. Was this to be his challenge to the BBC and the Church's answer to the ban on pacifist preachers?

The resolution starts well. It stresses the importance of making manifest the unity of all Christian people in their allegiance to the one Lord, Jesus Christ, and of making that unity manifest. It desires in particular a real respect for one another's consciences between those Christians who are pacifist and those who are not.

It then emphasises the importance of broadcasting as one chief means of presenting to the public the Church and the Gospel committed to it, and urges that no man should be excluded from the privilege of broadcasting on the ground that he is a pacifist.

So far, then, there seemed to be a real conception of unity, a true understanding of conscience, and a respect for the truth of the Gospel. We might indeed have been glad of such an answer and grateful for such a challenge.

Unfortunately the resolution does not end there. It continues: "provided that he undertakes not to use the occasion to advocate the pacifist position."

A BETRAYAL

I must confess that when I reached these concluding words I did not know

whether to laugh at the irony of them or cry at the tragedy of them. What seemed to promise a vindication turns out to be a betrayal.

For what does that provision involve? The resolution recognizes the need of unity and, by implication, regards the difference of interpretation of the Gospel on the question of pacifism as going so deep as to demand a special effort of Christian charity lest it impair spiritual fellowship. It recognizes, too, the value of broadcasting as a chief means of showing to the public what the Church stands for and how the Gospel meets their difficulties and answers their problems.

The conclusion denies to the pacifist the right to declare what he regards as an essential part of the Gospel and the answer to what is perhaps the most vital problem of the moment.

VITAL ISSUE

If the resolution had regarded pacifism merely as a matter of opinion and superficial difference not specially

concerned with a man's conscience, perhaps the conclusion would not have mattered so much.

But here pacifism is given its true value—something which is to many an integral part of the faith, an essential feature of the Good News—quite fundamental. And then the conclusion is that those who do regard it as such are to be allowed the privilege of preaching the Gospel on the condi-

tion that they keep silent about a vital part of it. It sounds better to use the phrase "undertake not to advocate the pacifist position," but it means "not to proclaim what is recognized to be a legitimate interpretation of the teaching of Christ on a most vital issue."

This is not a question of propaganda but of preaching, and the conclusion seems to be a new recognition of the right of the State to prescribe the limits of the Gospel. Are the non-pacifist preachers also to be silent about the war and thus lay the Church open to the accusation that its gospel is still as irrelevant to this life as it has often appeared? Or is its unity to be found in suppression rather than in the diversity of interpretations through which perhaps alone the truth can be reached?

Is respect for one another's conscience to be found in the denial of the right to express convictions because they would be out of harmony with the Government's war effort? If the Archbishop were a pacifist, would he tolerate such a restriction on his preaching? Suppose, even, the war should take a particular course which he would regard as a denial of the principles of Christ (a not impossible event); would he consent to broadcast on the condition that he did not proclaim the word of God about it?

"Woe is me if I preach not the Gospel." How can a pacifist accept what is regarded as a chief opportunity of proclaiming the Gospel at the cost of not proclaiming it? Surely the position is quite clear.

LEADING STRINGS

Either pacifism is a vital issue—to those who hold it a part of their faith and the Gospel, so that allegiance to Jesus Christ means a refusal to compromise on this vital issue—or it is something which is so superficial or remote as not to be a relevant issue.

If the latter, why bother to raise it and why talk about unity and respect for conscience? If the former, how can the Archbishop suggest that a pacifist preacher should be content in advance to put the Holy Spirit into the leading strings of a government department? This is to conscript Christianity with a vengeance.

I suggest that the attitude of the BBC is at least more realistic, however deplorable. They do recognize that pacifism is so relevant as to be a dangerous doctrine in wartime, and they cannot afford to risk that Gospel reaching the multitudes who are hungry for it. It is true that the Christian Gospel may well be regarded by the State as seditious in war-time.

The Archbishop's resolution seems to advise the BBC that the way to silence the protest is to conscript the preacher. Frankly, if that is the choice, I prefer the methods of the BBC.

by STUART MORRIS

Commentary

Edited by "Observer"

Where Will the Blow Fall?

WE are waiting to see where the blow will fall. Direct invasion?

Indirect, through Eire? A move through the Balkans? Through Spain? An attempt, via Sicily and Tunisia, to cut clean across our Mediterranean communications? Any one, or any combination, of these, or all together?

The word has gone round that the German air force in readiness to strike is nothing like so overwhelming as American sources make out. It may be true, it may be not; for who can find the way of truth amid the rank and mazy growth of propaganda and counter-propaganda? Meanwhile, of one thing we are certain: namely, that the supply of consumption goods has decreased with a surprising suddenness, and that the prices of uncontrolled commodities are soaring.

Since we may presume that this is tolerably well known to the Germans, it may well be that they will postpone any direct action in great force against this country until the economic situation has further deteriorated. We will hazard the guess that the critical time will be found round about August.

War-Aims Irrelevant?

THE American demand that we should state our war-aims, or our peace-aims, is said to have abated; but it is expected that Lord Halifax will take the first opportunity of saying something more definite on the subject than we have heard over here. But there is not much hope of any-

thing valuable emerging; that is, anything that will bring nearer a peace of negotiation and compromise.

The line taken by the American Government spokesman before the Foreign Affairs Committee is that our position is desperate, or next door to it. The bombing of our industrial centres, they say, has had very serious consequences; and Colonel Knox shakes his head gloomily. Whether there is a propaganda intention behind this alarming picture or not, the impression is conveyed that a statement of British war-aims is almost irrelevant, because the problem is not what to do with a British victory, but to avert a British defeat.

It is stated (Reynolds, Feb. 2) that Mr. Wendell Willkie is to be controller of American war-production. That will put big business behind the effort. There is no reason why it should not be. As we have pointed out, armaments production is now the accepted method of overcoming unemployment; and to give the product away to your friends is really much better than trying to give it away to an enemy—it saves you at least from having to go to war.

Attitude to France

MEANWHILE, British sympathy goes naturally to Marshal Pétain and his colleagues. That is actually from the Sunday Times; but all the British press now sings to the same tune. The reversal of attitude since last June is ignominious, and more likely to arouse contempt than reciprocal sympathy in Pétain. Not

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COMMENTARY

(Continued from page 1)

three months ago even the Manchester Guardian was talking of "the Quislings and the Pétains."

It is time we British got it into our heads that we have insulted and outraged France—a nation more sensitive on the point of honour than any other nation in the world. Our press treated Pétain as a mean traitor; our Government disregarded the pledged word of Pétain and Darlan that the French Navy would not be handed over to Germany, and made a shameful attack upon it. We have treated the most honourable nation in the world as a nation devoid of honour, simply because it was beaten.

And now we call upon her to submit to virtual annihilation in order to keep a pledge which we treated as worthless. Rather than submit to Hitler's demands for bases in Algeria and Tunisia unoccupied France must be occupied. Perhaps France will suffer her body to perish to save her soul. But it will hardly be for our sake.

A Prophetic Struggle

OUR conduct toward defeated France has been such that no sensitive Briton can contemplate it without revulsion. It has been short-sighted and selfish and base in the extreme, unmitigated by any glimmer of sympathetic understanding of her dire necessity.

At Pétain the majority have cried "Traitor!" and the minority—including, alas, not a few pacifists—have cried "Fascist!" Probably Peace News alone from the first has regarded him as an honourable and patriotic man struggling with adversity; and what is more, engaged in a prophetic struggle to accept European economic unity without accepting spiritual subordination.

The British incapacity to see the war in any terms save white and black, good and evil, prevented us from seeing that our plain duty was to help Pétain and the France which he represented in whatever way we could. Let us hope we shall not be punished too heavily for our blindness.

Britain and Eire

ONE notes with satisfaction and a certain curiosity a distinct change in tone in the references to Eire. Recent articles in the Times (January 29) and the Sunday Times (February 2) are remarkably friendly. They stress the not unimportant fact that the overwhelming majority of the citizens of Eire are behind Mr. de Valera's policy of resolute neutrality.

An unexpected note is struck by the emphasis on the preparedness of the Irish army, now trained in "scientific guerilla warfare," and on the efficiency of the local security force. A high Irish authority is quoted as saying that if it were possible for Britain (1) to give a categorical assurance that she had no intention of invading Eire or seizing the ports; and (2) to import more food from Eire, there would be an enormous improvement in the relations between the two countries.

Can it be that this change of tone is the result of a warning that Mr. Churchill's reference to the ports was doing harm to the British cause in the USA?

A Stupid Invention

IN the Sunday Express some three weeks ago appeared a statement which purported to have been made to a British general (unnamed) by a Nazi leader, describing what the Germans proposed to do to the British, if the Germans won the war. This curious effusion ran as follows:

As soon as we beat England we shall make an end of you English once and for all. Able-bodied men and women will be exported as slaves to the Continent. The old and the weakly will be exterminated.

All men remaining in Britain—as slaves—will be sterilized. A million or two of the young women of the Nordic type will be segregated in a number of stud farms, where, with the assistance of picked German aires, they will, during a period of ten or twelve years, produce nearly annually a series of Nordic infants to be brought up in every way as Germans.

These infants will form the future population of Britain. They will be partially educated in Germany and only those who fully satisfy Nazi requirements will be allowed to return to Britain and take up permanent residence. The rest will be sterilized and sent to join the slave gangs in Germany. Thus in a generation or two the British will disappear.

It carries its own refutation with it; it is an obvious invention, too coarse and too stupid, one would have thought, to find entrance even into the Sunday Express.

"Adequately Substantiated"

YET the sequel is truly astonishing. A fortnight later, Mr. W. J. Brown, General Secretary of the Civil Service Clerical Association, quoted this pitiful stuff verbatim in a broadcast (Listener, January 30), as evidence of the kind of peace Germany intended to impose. Mr. Martin, the Labour

Mahadev Desai, the very able secretary of Mahatma Gandhi, has written in Harijan (which he edited) of the week of meetings of the Indian Congress party representatives at Bombay last September as "Seven Days which shook the World", not perceptibly indeed now, but as a decisive stage in a truly revolutionary movement toward world peace, to be obtained through non-violent freedom in India.

Those were the days when the All India Congress Committee gave back the leadership of their great party into the hands of Gandhi. He had resigned it with profound grief in June last, when the committee decided (thereby, so Gandhi thought, contradicting itself) to co-operate with Britain in her war effort, if only her Government would give immediate and tangible proofs of the right of India to act as an independent nation. This request was definitely refused by the British Cabinet; and so a chastened Congress came back to their veteran pacifist leader for counsel and guidance.

The situation is a complicated one. It was made clearer by recent copies of Harijan, in which M. Desai gave extracts with comments, from Gandhi's September speeches.

WHEN the breach with Congress came in June, Gandhi had said that "nothing could save the world from self-destruction sooner or later—sooner rather than later—unless India can deliver to it the message of true 'non-violence'."

But all along he has recognized that many active members of the Congress party have not been in principle non-violent in all circumstances, although the party has for years past subscribed to satyagraha (soul- or truth-force, i.e., non-violence or absolute pacifism) as the exclusive method for winning swaraj (self-government) from Britain. Nevertheless he believes that their subscription to this ideal has been deeper than they themselves know and that a large proportion of the peasant masses who give a passive support to them and himself are essentially satyagrahi at heart as regards any type of aggressor.

When, therefore, in the face of the intransigence of the British Government on the swaraj issue, he was again asked to take the helm, Gandhi felt justified in launching, not, as might have been expected, a movement of non-violent mass civil obedience to obtain swaraj, but one which, by concentrating on the right of Indians to refuse co-operation in the war against world-wide Nazi aggression, naturally opens up the whole question of a free and independent India facing a hostile world with a policy of satyagraha, which would imply, inter alia, a condition of total disarmament as regards the men and weapons needed for modern war; an immense effort of moral re-armament it would, of course, imply also.

FOR days Gandhi had hesitated, until at last light came. There was still, he said, darkness as regards the results, but "when I am sure of the purity of the means, faith is enough to lead me on."

The decision as to the precise means "had not come to him from the in-

member for Central Southwark, had the good sense to direct Mr. Duff Cooper's attention to the broadcast, and to ask him "whether he would give an assurance that all such statements were carefully examined and checked."

Yes, Sir, I am aware of this talk, the script of which was submitted to the customary careful examination. All the statements in it can be adequately substantiated. Thus the Sunday Express extravagance is given the imprimatur of the Government. Of course, what can be "substantiated adequately" from the point of view of the Minister of Information and Propaganda is not necessarily true. Indeed, substantiation adequate for his purposes, may be no substantiation at all. Anyhow, I challenge Mr. Duff Cooper to produce evidence that that statement was actually made.

Democracy and Law

MR. HERBERT MORRISON, defending his suppression of the Daily Worker, appealed, as on a previous occasion, to the history of the Weimar Republic to justify his denial of legal process.

This is a fatal lesson to draw from that history. It was not legal process that saved Hitler, but weakness in applying the law. The idea that democracy can be defended by abrogating law is utterly wrong—that is how democracy is destroyed.

What About Women COs?

IT is imperative that a conscience-clause be demanded in the regulations for the conscription of women's labour that is now imminent.

The Times (Jan. 30) informs us that an order for the compulsory registration of

by STEPHEN HOBHOUSE

telleet, but from the recesses of the heart, where dwells the Innermost. It is He who has given it. It was born at the end of infinite travail." So he framed a resolution which was accepted in the main by J. Nehru, the Congress draftsman, and adopted by the Working Committee on September 16, 1940. In this sympathy and admiration were freely expressed for "the bravery and endurance of the British nation in the face of danger."

But the Congress Committee declared that they must insist on the "fullest freedom" to resist, by non-violent methods and without any ill will, the Government's prohibition of "free expression of public opinion in condemnation of their associating India in the war against Germany against the will of a vast body of the people of India, and of exploiting her national resources and man power for this purpose."

Moreover, so the Congress resolution continued, "this committee firmly believes in the policy and practice of non-violence not only in the struggle for swaraj, but also, in so far as this may be possible of application, in free India. The committee is convinced, and recent world events have demonstrated, that complete world disarmament is necessary, and the establishment of a new and juster political and economic order, if the world is not to destroy itself and revert to barbarism. A free India will, therefore, throw all her weight in favour of world disarmament"; and although the extent of "the lead she would give in this to the world will inevitably depend on external factors and internal conditions, the State would do its utmost to give effect to this policy of disarmament."

In further justification of the policy thus adopted, Gandhi declared that "the right of free speech", that is, in the present crisis, "the liberty to de-

women may be expected shortly. They will be called up, as the men, by age-groups beginning probably at the age of 20, and moving upward according to the requirements of industry.

There will be appeal-machinery; but so far there is no indication that a conscientious objection to participation in the production of armaments will be recognized.

Mr. Strachey's Faith

ONE of the more disconcerting mental revolutions produced by the war is that of Mr. John Strachey, who, in his book *A Faith to Fight for*, after painting a picture of Britain defeated by the Germans in the best propaganda style, rather takes my breath away by assuring me that "there are only two things to pit against fear, force, lies, and hate; they are truth and love."

Not, of course, that I disagree; but I am astonished to hear Mr. Strachey say it. If ever there was a hard-boiled exponent of the necessity of revolutionary violence and terror, it was Mr. John Strachey. Mr. Strachey preaching truth—and love; it will take time to get used to that.

"The Great Dictator"

I HAVE at last seen *The Great Dictator*. As a Chaplin fan of twenty-five years' standing, it grieves me to say that it is the worst Chaplin film I have ever seen.

There are extraordinarily funny moments, of course: the meeting of Napoloni and Hynkel at the railway station, in particular. But the whole thing is so superficial—it has the unfortunate effect of making Hitler and Germany appear merely trivial and absurd—that I am hardly surprised that it has been banned in Eire and other neutral countries. Whatever Hitler and Germany may be, they are not trivial and absurd.

Yet Chaplin's idea of making Hynkel and the "little man" doubles of each other might have been profound. But probably it wasn't an idea at all; merely a technical necessity in order that Chaplin should be able to act both parts. I feel that the film was an opportunity completely missed, for Chaplin might have understood Hynkel better than anybody.

India's Message to the World

clare and preach non-co-operation with the war effort, is the foundation-stone of swaraj. If that is in danger, you have to exert the whole of your might to defend that single stone." He considers that India is not now ready for "mass civil disobedience" and therefore resistance to the Government prohibition would be strictly limited to a number of selected individuals.

HOW are we western pacifists to estimate the value to the cause we have at heart—the spread of true non-violent conviction throughout the world—of what is now happening in India?

We only know from the daily papers (Indian news being heavily censored) that one after another of the leading men and women of British India, at Gandhi's nomination, are making, or announcing their intention to make, public speeches begging their countrymen to refrain from co-operating with Britain's war-effort and that they are being arrested by the Viceroy's orders and being sentenced to longer or shorter terms of imprisonment. We wish we could read these speeches and feel the tone and substance of their appeals and protests.

The real value of their witness from our standpoint turns principally on how far they are inspired by a satyagraha, a non-violent faith, which is ready to try at least to carry on, when India is free, a Government that has no use for all the vastly elaborate and expensive equipment of weapons of offence and defence which modern war requires. Gandhi said at Bombay that he had no objection to different types of arguments and of anti-war propaganda, so long as all is carried on in a perfectly open and non-violent manner, but that only such reasoning as starts from his own standpoint as a "conscientious objector" to all violence "will sit well on Congressmen's lips."

They wished to help and not to embarrass Britain, and "the best way to help her, as well as India and the world, is that there should be in the midst of the all-round conflagration one powerful body pinning its faith to uttermost non-violence. As things are going on at present, defeat of Nazism will be bought at a terrific price, viz., superior Nazism, call it by any name you like."

(To be concluded.)

"The Big Picture"

THE following report appears in the American news-letter *Uncensored* for Dec. 14 last.

"Though reports of actual peace feelers now are being discounted, responsible Washington sources are beginning to entertain the idea of a negotiated peace seriously. Among others, the sober and reliable *Foreign Policy Bulletin* suggests that it could happen. Why peace is possible despite the utterance of belligerent spokesmen is apparent when the big picture is examined coolly.

"Hitler has gained so much that Britain, with her industrial production and shipping strength gravely impaired, can only win a victory after a long-drawn war of attrition—even if the US joined in. All possible pressure will be brought on the US this winter. Such a victory might not differ much from defeat. A negotiated peace would leave the Empire intact and British naval power would survive. On the other hand, Hitler has not been able to deal a knockout blow with air power. The victory he rants about could only come after an equally exhausting struggle. Meanwhile, Italy may be fading and there are signs of unrest in the conquered States. From a negotiated peace Hitler would be supreme on the Continent. He would be in a position to press German trade aims.

"Peace now, of course, would presuppose a working harmony between Britain and Germany in Europe. Some observers see the US included in a three-way deal to thwart Japan."

P.P.U. & FIRE-WATCHING

As some members of the PPU have expressed a desire for some further guidance on the question of the fire-watching order than was contained in the Executive Committee's statement published in our last issue, the Forethought Committee is to discuss it when it meets on February 18 and 19.

It is hoped that any members who feel strongly that pacifists ought to resist the order (and, for the matter of that, any who feel equally strongly that they ought to co-operate) will help that discussion by sending to Stuart Morris (at 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1) a considered statement of the case as they see it.

A NOURISHING
FOOD CADBURY'S
BOURNVILLE PLAIN
CHOCOLATE

Women's Section BUSINESS MATTERS

The proposed Women's Conference on "Peace Possibilities" is taking shape. It will be held in Friends House, Euston Road, London, on Saturday afternoon, March 22. Please appoint your delegates soon. Delegates will be given an opportunity to join in the discussion. Seats will be set aside for any who care to come and bring their friends to listen to the conference. The names of the speakers will be published shortly.

VERA BRITAIN has kindly consented to give a reading from her new book, *England's Hour* (which is to be published by Macmillan on February 7) at the Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, Binney Street, W.1, on Sunday, February 23, at 3 p.m. Admission will be free but a collection will be taken. Tea and refreshments will be obtainable at the Club after the reading. Miss Britain will be happy to consider requests for extracts from her other works. Please write to her at 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

SYBIL MORRISON

FAITH WITHOUT WORKS . . .

by

Evelyn A. Stratford

I WONDER if any of you are finding it very difficult these days to keep your pacifist faith absolute. By that, I mean that you became convinced of your pacifism in peace-time, and still believe in its rightness, but that the present state of affairs often makes you feel depressed and you wonder if the forces of evil are not too great to be overcome.

Yet the obvious thing about your acceptance of a faith is that you believe in it. If you are doubting, you lessen your own pacifist faith and witness, and collectively the pacifist witness of our country.

It has become a favourite maxim of mine that "faith without works is dead." Now I feel it stronger than ever. I believe in the rightness of our cause, but sometimes I get overwhelmed by the power of the forces against us. From personal experience I do feel that one of the safest guarantees against this feeling taking possession of one, is to be immersed in peace work.

Please do not imagine that I am advising you to stop thinking. Certainly not! Go on thinking and studying, but do not weaken your powers of reason by becoming too susceptible to the process of unreason which is going on all around you just now.

LIVE PACIFISM

Do you feel that there is no work for you to do? As you are a reader of *Peace News* I cannot feel that this is so; but there are two important things to be remembered: first, live your pacifism in your own personal life; second, spread your belief and views as much as you can. If people respect you, they usually respect your creed, though they may be far from believing it.

Join your local PPU group. Once you have joined, find work to do, both in the group and beyond it. There is still *Peace News* selling, leaflet distribution, and work connected with COs and refugees.

Find out what there is to do and then inspire other members with your enthusiasm. Our national leaders need help from individuals and groups. They cannot exist without it.

So, women everywhere, work, and thus strengthen your own belief and help forward the coming of peace to us all.

At the Dick Sheppard Memorial Club
Binney Street, Oxford St. W.1

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 3 p.m.

VERA BRITAIN

will give a reading from her new book, *England's Hour*

Admission Free.

Collection.

THINKING OUT PEACE

By George Ll. Davies

I THINK it was Emerson who said "Men descend to meet." We certainly do not meet at meetings, except momentarily and superficially. It is a relief to leave crowds and committees and to return to the house of a real friend.

But is there a Third Estate to be discovered between collectivism and individualism, through which the personal values and vision can become potential for social action? H. G. Wells' *Sorbonne Lecture on "Democracy"* complained that democracy had failed to act positively and constructively as compared with the achievements of individuals in science or of dictatorships in economic organization.

It has been said that the crux for socialism is to be on a committee of socialists. Similarly a pacifist committee may leave a sense of frustration and failure owing to the discord and difficulty of beginning to work out together an alternative policy to war. How can we commend "peace by negotiation" for ten nations which seems to be impracticable between ten pacifist persons?

Problems such as these, fundamental to our own effectual witness in peace-making, confront us in the searching little booklet just published by the Peace Pledge Union, *An Outline for Pacifist Study*, with an introduction by Canon Raven (6d.).

NEW METHODS

It may be that in such studies we shall discover the keys to new kinds of social and political methods and groupings, and escape the fate of earlier pacifists, caught by the tide of political reaction, who condemn the last war and justify the next with their party.

It may be also that they will help to deliver us from the megalomania of thinking too much of large-scale politics and too little of small-scale possibilities. If Denmark has faced Hitler without falling into moral or material anarchy, it may be because its Folk Schools and Co-operatives did not depend on political parties or Governments, but had leavened the

thought and practice of the peasants into group improvisation.

Though the handbook does not set out to do anything so ambitious as christianize a committee, it does point out that ideas and policies are not a greater problem than the persons who discuss them. Our ends are apparently not more exalted than those of the idealist exponents of the war. It must be therefore in our means that our distinctiveness lies.

Are we "Methodists" in anything like the sense of those groups who brought the evangelical awakening to Britain two centuries ago? Have we any Acts of the Apostles of Peace, comparable with those of Lansbury or Gandhi, or are we content with agendas and resolutions and the hope that a turn in the political tide may come our way? Can we say that we find warmth and light in our peace groups and not merely heat and sparks, and are we beginning to discover a technique of peace-making even among ourselves?

PRESSING QUESTIONS

Questions such as these and many more affecting our wider associations in social or political affairs press closer upon us, and are opened out by the handbook for serious and intelligent discussion.

The awareness of what is happening around us and in ourselves can be intelligently expressed, as well as acutely felt. And who should more feelingly explore this awareness and get a sense of method, experience, and direction than isolated pacifists compelled to make the best of what little fellowship and opportunity is left to them: those Pacifist Service Groups in forests, or hospitals, or shelters who are up against laborious monotony, precarious improvisations, or ignominious conditions of life and service?

Such experiences may in fact be the inevitable and invaluable part of an education that "learns through suffering" something of the nature of "the whole man", in acting, feeling, and thinking together. And this little booklet helps to make our experiences articulate to ourselves and others in a quest for the blessedness that is promised to the peace-makers.

GROUP NOTES

John Barclay on

HUNGER

IF it were possible to take a completely disinterested view of the present struggle—a struggle in which we are all involved—we should, I think, be spellbound. For most of us, however, the daily business of living is enough to demand our whole attention, and events move so rapidly that a steady focus is almost impossible. The one fact that is emerging clearly from the stream of half-truths that pass for "information" is that in the near future we shall all be hungry.

Not many middle-class people have ever experienced hunger. They know what it is to come in from a good walk in the country and to be as "hungry as a hunter"; or they have had to starve themselves before going to hospital for an operation; but the sharp pains that hunger produces have only been felt by the few. The unemployed, on the other hand, know only too well what it means and if they are faced with a world in which to have employment does not remove the pangs of hunger, then we shall be faced with an entirely new and revolutionary situation.

I have been hungry myself and I have seen how hungry men behave. Prolonged hunger becomes painfully difficult to bear and develops violence or craftiness in human beings so tortured. As pacifists, we are alive to the changing political situation and

are increasingly sensitive to the advancing horrors. As the reality of the food problem becomes more obvious, the apathy of many people will change rapidly. The hungry sheep will look up to be fed, and unfed they will be filled with intense hatred. Our theories of non-violent resistance will be put to the test. We shall need all our humour and courage to keep us sane. The test of hunger is also the test of spirit. Hunger will not destroy our faith (although it may, perhaps, improve our figures).

Academic discussion is at an end—we are face to face with the practical politics of war in 1941. The suffering of people is a personal matter—but only those who can share the suffering can hope to end the misery. Every pacifist group can become a centre around which will gather those who, in spite of hunger and disease, are determined to lay the foundation of a world of plenty. "To your groups, O Israel!"

GROUP ACTIVITIES

There are some experiences which have lasting value, and among them I put a visit to the Northampton group's monthly breakfast. I was fetched from Leicester at 7.30 last Sunday morning and arrived at half past eight to find Friends' House "humming." Nearly 100 members brought their breakfast (tea and coffee was provided). The family parties added to the sense of real fellowship and the average age seemed to be well below 30. Thanks to the grand spirit of the breakfast meeting and discussion, I came away feeling I had had my summer holidays!

Leicester.—It is a long while since I visited Leicester, and although I had heard of the

News of C.O.s

AUTHORITIES AGAINST DISCRIMINATION

AT a recent meeting of Islington Borough Council, the question was asked as to how many COs were employed by the Council and "what is the council's attitude in the matter?" The reply was:

No inquiry has been made. Parliament has set up machinery to deal with this matter and it is not the business of the council to interfere in any way with judicial machinery set up by Parliament. We do not ask council employees whether they are conscientious objectors; nor do we ask if they are vegetarians or Presbyterians.

More recently (on January 30), Mr. Herbert Morrison, Minister of Home Security, told Mr. Reginald Sorensen in the House of Commons that he deprecated refusals by civil defence authorities to accept offers of voluntary service from conscientious objectors "at a time when the services of every citizen are required."

FEWER OBJECTORS

A new low record was reached in the percentage of COs when the men who became 36 in 1940 and those who reached 20 between November 10 and December 31 last registered on January 11 and 18. This was 0.43 per cent of those registered, the number being 1,514, bringing the total provisional registrations as COs to 54,739.

The King's proclamation of January 29 provides for the registration, on dates to be announced, of the remainder of the age-groups specified in the National Service (Armed Forces) Act—i.e. the youngest and the oldest.

TRIBUNAL CHANGE

The new chairman of the Northern Appellate Tribunal, which resumed its sittings in Manchester on Tuesday, is Sir Edward Stubbs, who retired in 1937 from the Colonial Service. He succeeds the late Sir Philip J. Macdonell.

ADVISORY BUREAUX

Dartford.—Mrs. L. S. Lenderyou, 105 Heath Lane, Dartford, Kent.

Enfield.—Alfred Tassell, 52 Riversfield Rd., Enfield, Middlesex.

Lewisham.—Mrs. F. Vincent, 25 Northwood Rd., Forest Hill, S.E.23.

Lincoln.—B. McCarthy, 39 Fors Bank, Lincoln.

Orpington and Petts Wood.—F. A. Ballis, 61 Petts Wood Rd., Petts Wood, Kent.

Uxbridge.—Miss P. R. Whitehouse, 2 Corwell Lane, Hillingdon, Middlesex.

work of their CO Fellowship, I only realized how valuable it was when I awoke to the local COs last Saturday. We had a houseful, made up of PPU, FOL, and Friends, the chairman being that veteran of pacifists, Father Reddow. He celebrates his 30th anniversary in the church next Sunday.

I spent the evening and that night at the Croft Community (Kirby Mucklow). It has been established three or four months and is rapidly settling down. They have a large garden and two acres of land, some distance away, attached to the scheme. One full-time worker is already developing this. Their plans include intensive production, bee-keeping, and fruit.

Hastings.—40,000 people have left Hastings, and so it is but a shadow of its old self. The PPU is still very much alive and the indefatigable work of Mary and Kenneth Wray, as well as their inspiring devotion, has been responsible for making the name of Hastings known throughout the PPU. Will all the scattered Hastings members who read this send a note to Kenneth Wray giving him their present address? He still lives at Tinker's Dell, Battle, Hastings.

Bournemouth Region.—The promised report is held over till next week.

Engagements.—To save delay and to help group secretaries, I attach my list of engagements for the next two months:

February.

- 8 High Wycombe.
- 9 Fulham.
- 10-12 Manchester.
- 13-15 Liverpool.
- 21 Midhurst.
- 22 Walthamstow.
- 23 Leatherhead.
- 24 Westerham.
- 26 New Southgate.
- 27 Sunbury-on-Thames.

March.

- 1 Redhill.
- 2 Tonbridge.
- 5 Stockton-on-Tees.
- 7 Sunderland.
- 8 Newcastle.
- 15 Council.
- 16 Council, Plaistow.
- 22 Golders Green.

Community Notes

The Pacifist Relief Service (writes Frank Breakspear, of 52 Riversfield-road, Enfield, Middlesex) consists of six men, all liable to imprisonment, equipped on cycles for first aid, fire fighting, and rescue work. Most of them have had training in Stepney, some in the PSU, and they are prepared to travel to any area to help organize and run emergency relief services and train others.

Circulation Notes

News of Street Selling

By John W. Cowling

THE absence of these notes from the past two issues has not been due to any lack of news about circulation, but to my own absence from London on a tour of North Wales and the Western Midlands. In the weather conditions prevailing my chief preoccupation was to keep my own circulation going and to reach meeting-places on time!

But North Wales proved to have centres of pacifism as strong as those I recently visited in the South, and readers were equally keen to make the best possible use of the movement's paper; so I felt amply compensated for the inclemency of the weather.

Meanwhile the circulation of Peace News has continued its upward trend, and last week we printed 17,900 copies (which allowed for the usual small margin over actual orders). Within a month I hope to be able to announce the launching of a campaign to reach the 20,000-mark. Watch for details.

The first "incidents" of any kind to be reported from any part of the country since street-selling again began to become fairly widespread last autumn have just been reported from Newton Abbot, where the police have interfered twice.

On the first occasion they eventually agreed that sellers could continue their activity, providing no obstruction was caused; on the second, a few weeks ago, there was some unpleasantness which has not resulted in legal action. I gather that the sellers—Eric Darton and E. C. Maddax—are not allowing themselves to be discouraged.

Apart from these isolated cases, news from street-sellers makes cheerful reading. Banstead report that, after selling a dozen copies of the Christmas number in an hour, they now sell regularly.

Acton write: "One of our women members started selling a fortnight ago, and the results are promising. It is hoped that this effort will be extended in the near future."

Newcastle-on-Tyne also has a street-seller, though no results are yet to hand.

At Reigate on Saturday I met stalwarts who have been selling in Redhill for a long time; they did not give up even during the "sticky" months of last summer.

Two of us from the Peace News office sold at a shopping centre in Holloway recently, and although results were poor there was no open hostility.

Making the World Safe — for What?

(Continued from page 1).

experienced as a widespread sense of frustration, which is inevitable in a life lived in allegiance to no true values at all, produces a weariness of political responsibility and an eagerness to surrender the burden into the hands of the demagogic, miracle-working "leader". And it is hardly fair to blame the leader because his notion of "order" is always military order. That is the only kind of order that the citizen of mass-democracy appreciates. Thus, the incapacity of democracy creates a war—a wasteful and ghastly method of reaching a further stage (but not a better) in political and social evolution. For, as Dean Inge prophetically observed in 1919, "it does not seem possible for democracy, which disintegrates society into individuals and only collects them again into mobs, to pass directly into its opposite, socialism. A military monarchy must come between them."

Read autocracy for monarchy, and it is as remarkable a forecast of the period between the wars as may be found; it is also a valuable clue to the present situation. The war is the means by which the nations of Europe are passing into state-socialism. And state-socialism (as Mr. Herbert Morrison is demonstrating) is grey ill to reconcile with the liberalism which is the virtue of democracy. The only countries which have made any sort of job of combining democracy with socialism are the small, relatively highly educated and comparatively non-militarist Scandinavian countries—educated peasant societies, which have been able to withstand the excessive centralization which kills the true spirit of democracy.

The big state-societies are, we fear, necessarily authoritarian. They arise as war-socialisms; and it will be a miracle if they do not perpetuate themselves as such. The one way out of the ugly cul de sac is through peace by compromise, on a basis of disarmament. The chances of such sanity are small. Thus the Government, which rejects such sanity, simplifies its political problems. The question: What kind of governments to sponsor in post-war Europe? may not arise. By the end of the war, all the governments of the powers may be of the same kind; and, if some collapse altogether, they will probably be replaced by others like them.

LETTERS to the EDITOR

Anarchism and Democracy

THE articles on Anarchism and Democracy, by Mr. F. A. Lea, are most searching.

Certain thoughts are provoked. Absolute Christianity is anarchist in relation to any form of Government, Christian or otherwise. In the case of the otherwise Governments the reason is obvious; but in the case of Christian Governments the reason is not at first obvious until we remember that a community ruled by Love has no need of laws. Love is above all law, while fulfilling all the purposes for which law is promulgated. Government is raised on the imperfections of man, so that all Government is ordered violence.

Yet Jesus recognized Government when he said, "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's". What shall we say then? Was Jesus thinking in contradictions? Perhaps the definition is poor. To say that "Government is ordered violence" is to get confused with too much simplification.

Many laws are matters of administration, and completely beneficial in themselves, without which even perfect Christians would waste their energies; e.g. laws as to supplies and services, heat, gas, electricity, transport, housing, and health. In such matters the most perfect Christian communities must have laws. They are the skeleton upon which the social body is built. Such laws represent the economic deployment of the people in services designed to raise the whole standard of social wellbeing. To put oneself outside such services makes anarchism and idiocy synonymous terms.

In short, Christian or no Christian, anarchism is descent back into the darkness of primitive values and disorganized living. There is no possible escape for scientific and intellectual man into anarchism. Even if all freedom of opinion in the State be quashed there can be no escape for civilized Christians from ordered governed life. Escape is not to be found in anarchism which is primitivism, but in getting out of service precisely in those functions of the State that suppress freedom. All the other services are available. Even if prison, for conscience sake, is the lot imposed, then one has not escaped into anarchism, because prison is an ordered community enforced by laws.

The phrase "the State is ordered violence" particularly applies to those functions of the State that are penal in respect of acts of violence, criminality, theft, and negligence for which the police services were primarily designed, and also to the combatant services. It is in respect of these that the absolute Christian finds difficulty arising out of his obedience to the principles of the Sermon on the Mount. But these difficulties cannot make anarchists of civilized Christian men and women.

Granted, then, that civilized organized life is impossible without Governments, what is the duty of the absolute Christian?

It is to serve the State to the best of his ability within the framework of his convictions. He can do no more; that is absolute, though the absoluteness cannot be fully expressed because the conditions are not altogether good. That is not the Christian's fault. But anarchism is a condition that has no existence for educated men and women living up to the standards of applied knowledge. And this thought is intuitively expressed in the words "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's"—which simply means you cannot go back to primitivism.

(Dr.) J. C. JONES

109 South Norwood Hill,
S.E.25.

Apropos of the Anarchism-Democracy controversy, withdrawal of allegiance from the present social order does not imply total isolation from all organized society—rather a transference of loyalty from our disintegrating capitalist-democracy to a new social order, the creation of which is the paramount obligation of the pacifist.

MAURICE CRANSTON

40 Wellington-avenue, Chingford.

On Ending Empire-Holding

I WAS very interested in the Plain Man's article in last week's Peace News, and it may, perhaps, have been effective propaganda for considering the possibilities of an immediate peace. Nevertheless, as a pacifist with a few years' experience, I was very deeply concerned about the impression it might make on non-pacifist readers.

The facile manner in which it skimmed the surface of a most complex matter would, I think, give rise in the mind of the intelligent reader to the idea that pacifists are well-meaning idealists with a very incomplete knowledge of the situation, and of the implications of the step they advocate.

The Plain Man suggests that we "offer to play our part in ending empire-holding." I agree with him, but he goes on to say, "To try it would cost nothing," and there I must emphatically disagree. The cost would be very great, and we must recognize this fact and still advocate the step. He says he wants the people of Britain "to have good homes, good food and plenty of it, not to be crabbied by poverty, by lack of amenities and social services." So do I, but let us face the fact that the end of empire-holding, or an immediate peace would not give them these advantages any more than would the continuation of the war.

We have maintained our standard of living at the expense of colonial populations, whose cheap labour has provided our raw materials, and by means of our export trade, which has disposed of our manufactured goods in closed markets. Peace or the surrender of empire would mean the end of this system, and so the end of our high standard of living for quite a time. We are inviting people not to do something which costs nothing, but to be prepared for suffering.

But no new movement is born without travail, and we have been thrust into the position of apostles asking the nation voluntarily to take on the labour of the present society, that out of its suffering a new and better kind of society may arise. We must realize fully the implications of this position. For the pacifist, it means the readiness to surrender everything. And what for the non-pacifist?

The person who is really supporting the war is engaged in an enormous gamble. He is staking all, hoping that if he wins he will retain his mode of living, keep alive his ideals, preserve the system of government in which he believes, and put an end to a system which is the negation of his beliefs. If he loses, he expects to forfeit his ideals, his standard of living, his mode of life, and be subjected to a foreign tyranny. To the pacifist the nature of this gamble is abhorrent. He can have no part in it.

He asks the non-pacifist voluntarily to take on suffering, retaining his ideals, that we may win through to a new society, instead of losing those ideals in the fury of the fight and the atmosphere of hatred and bitterness. That is a hard choice, but the pacifist has at the moment nothing to offer but toil and tears, sweat and, maybe, blood, though for the future a new hope, a new order.

A. FREDERIC PHILP

49 Castle Gate, Nottingham.

This week's hint: If you know of a notice-board where a Peace News poster may be displayed, or if you are prepared to show one in your front-room window, write and tell me. Various posters are still available; they were printed before the printing of contents bills was banned.

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PACIFIST, shortly expecting to do land work, has furnished bedroom and sitting room to let, with use of kitchen and bathroom, in Reading; would prefer pacifist applicants. Apply Box 643, Peace News, 3 Blackstock-road, N.4.

2s. PER WEEK. Lake District; bedroom, use sitting room; cooking, etc.; 2 or 3 men, or couple preferred; lovely country. Box 647, Peace News, 3 Blackstock-road, N.4.

EDUCATIONAL

CLASSES in speaking and writing for peace will run monthly (fortnightly if desired). Sunday afternoons beginning February 23; 1s. 6d. each class. Dorothy Matthews B.A., 32 Primrose Hill Road, London, N.W.3; Cunnigham 6238.

LEARN to write and speak for peace and human brotherhood, harnessing artistic, imaginative, intuitive, and intellectual gifts, correspondence lessons 5s. each—Dorothy Matthews B.A., 32 Primrose Hill Road, London, N.W.3

FOR SALE

CYCLES: Britain's best at £6 15s., carriage paid; every necessary accessory; even to cyclo-meter. Made by over 40 years' established Harris Cycle Co., Coventry.

FOR URGENT SALE, Crickhowell, Breconshire, small holding, 2 acres; 2 miles buses; suitable community. Box 642, Peace News, 3 Blackstock-road, N.4.

LAND & COMMUNITY

P.P.U. MEMBER, 41, married, child, seeks admission to agricultural community; speciality, beekeeping; small capital. 21 North Drive, Hounslow.

VEGETABLE SEEDS; discount to pacifists. Catalogue from PN, "In Your Garden." Seedsmen, Newman St., Southampton.

WANTED URGENTLY, full-time woman warden for income-pooling community; also assist social work. Particulars to Leonard Boulton, 17 Wellesley-road, Chiswick, W.4.

YOUNG PACIFIST requires forestry work in Home Counties; has had experience with timber and machine saw. Box 646, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

SITUATIONS VACANT

FILLING STATION Attendant wanted urgently; accommodation available. J. P. Williams, Gobowen, Salop.

MOTOR MECHANIC wanted, all-round repairs, Birmingham; house could be provided; financial interest to suitable man. Box 645, Peace News, 3 Blackstock-road, N.4.

SITUATIONS & WORK WANTED

JOINER, C.O., 35 (Bench-hand), seeks employment; London district only; no war work; T.U. Box 641, Peace News, 3 Blackstock-road, N.4.

PACIFIST TEACHER (25), conditionally exempt, seeks progressive post; Oxford biology degree, general science experience. Box 648, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

WOMAN PACIFIST, 43, desires post as housekeeper to widower; experienced all duties, good cook; country or small town. Box 649, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

WHERE TO STAY

DERBYSHIRE HILLS: Food Reform; Vegetarian Guest House; alt. 600ft; for happy holiday or restful recuperation; central heating, h. and c. water in bedrooms. A. and K. S. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, Matlock.

MISCELLANEOUS

IT IS PROPOSED to start a Pacifist Service Unit in Cardiff; will all those able to offer whole or part-time service or financial support please write to Dr. J. Phillips, Mental Hospital, Whitechurch, Cardiff.

LAKE DISTRICT, For meeting, 3 pm, Sunday, Feb. 16, at Esthwaite Lodge, Hawkeshead; anyone interested welcome.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

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